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## THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS IN TIECK'S WRITINGS

The writings of Ludwig Tieck abound in evidences of a lively interest in the lower middle class. How can we account for the indifference of writers and critics to his views on this subject? The explanation is not difficult. The plots of only three of Tieck's writings deal primarily with lower middle class situations, and in most of his works the interest centres about the plot or the moral rather than about the delineation of character. When, however, a character is clearly and sympathetically drawn, it almost invariably belongs to the lower group of society. Highly individualized characters belonging to this class form the centre of the action in Abraham Tonelli, Der Runenberg and Der junge Tischlermeister; in other works they frequently overshadow the nominal hero of the story. Although the chief personages of the Novellen belong to the moneyed or aristocratic group of society, they are for the most part mere lay figures upon which the action is hung, or oftener yet the objects of Tendenzsatire. Instances also occur in the plot or dialogue of many of Tieck's works, in which, neglecting the growing spiritual leadership of the upper bourgeoisie of his own day, he ascribes much of its culture and some of its ideals to the lower middle class.

Tieck's treatment of his theme contains much which indicates the inadequacy of two common definitions of the term "romantic."<sup>1</sup> Wide currency has been attained by the statement of Heinrich Heine that the German Romanticists, in so far as they were concerned with social questions, were attracted, as a result of their interest in the Middle Ages, chiefly by the institution of chivalry. With special reference to Tieck, Heine

<sup>1</sup> The writer is not ignorant that, as A. W. Porterfield has pointed out in *Some Popular Misconceptions Concerning German Romanticism* (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 479 ff.), inadequacy is a fault inherent in most definitions of this term; "that Heine was at (the) time (at which he wrote his essay on the Romantic School) an errant journalist, that suggestiveness and unreliability were dancing partners in his book, that he himself was honestly interested in Mediaeval legends"; or, with regard to the second of the two definitions here discussed, that from 1790-1798 Tieck's writings were mainly rationalistic, from 1798-1804 romantic and largely

wrote in his famous essay on *Die romantische Schule*: "Wie Herr Tieck und die Schlegel . . . gegen Männer, die im Leben und in der Litteratur eine ehrsame Bürgerlichkeit beförderten, die grimmigste Abneigung hegten; wie sie diese Bürgerlichkeit als philisterhafte Kleinmisere persiflierten, und dagegen beständig das grosse Heldenleben des feudalistischen Mittelalters gerühmt und gefeiert, so hat auch Aristophanes, . . . "u.s.w."<sup>2</sup> Heine himself perceived a change in Tieck's attitude during his later period of literary activity. "Eine merkwürdige Veränderung begiebt sich aber jetzt mit Herrn Tieck, und diese befindet sich in seiner dritten Manier, . . . Der ehemalige Enthusiast, welcher einst . . . nur Mittelalter, nur feudalistisches Mittelalter atmete, . . . dieser trat jetzt auf als . . . Darsteller des modernsten Bürgerlebens, . . . So sehen wir ihn in einer Reihe neuerer Novellen."<sup>3</sup>

In direct opposition to the above statements, the comparisons which Tieck from time to time drew between the lower middle class and the nobility will be shown to be invariably favorable to the former. Such comparisons form the chief topic not only of the *Novellen*, *Die Ahnenprobe* (1832) and *Eigensinn und Laune* (1835) but of a work of such early origin as *Der junge Tischlermeister* (conceived before Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen*, composed 1811-1835), besides appearing incidentally in numerous other writings, early as well as late. These two social groups, the lower middle class and the nobility, which he regarded as the chief surviving representatives of the great mediæval classes, Tieck desired to see remain outwardly distinct, while at the same time he affirmed the equal capacity of both with regard to mental and moral attainments. The increased realism of his later works lessened his favor for the

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mediaeval in subject-matter, from 1804-1820 romantic and much less mediaeval, and that the period from 1820-1853 might be called one of incipient realism. The chief emphasis in this paper is laid not upon an attempt to discredit any given definition of romanticism or to show how Tieck's attitude toward the lower middle class was related to that of German authors of earlier or later date, but upon an explanation of this attitude, aided by its comparison with certain definitions of romanticism and with the attitude of other men toward the same topic.

<sup>2</sup> *Heinrich Heines Gesammelte Werke*. Hg. von Gustav Karpeles. 5. Bd. Berlin, 1887. pp. 210, 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 222.

nobility without appreciably altering his conception of the lower middle class. In the *Novelle, Eigensinn und Laune* he states that this class alone is true to its own best traditions, whereas the isolated and privileged position of the nobility constitutes a menace to its moral strength.

Of more recent date than the definition of romanticism given by Heine is another, expressed by Professor W. A. Neilson in the words: "Romanticism is the tendency characterized by the predominance of imagination over reason and the sense of fact."<sup>4</sup> In support of this statement he writes, with reference to Heine's definition of German Romanticism: "There are to be found in the literature and art of the Middle Ages abundant phenomena that explain, if they do not justify, such a dictum as that of Heine."<sup>5</sup> In another passage this statement is connected with the definition of romanticism as characterized pre-eminently by imagination: "To sum up: the elements in mediæval life and art that have provided stimuli to modern romantic writers have been those which, whether secular or religious, were marked by a high degree of ideal aspiration; in other words, by ruling conceptions in which the dominant power is imagination."<sup>6</sup> Having thus based the assumed partiality of the Romanticists for mediæval chivalry on the predominance of imagination in their works, in a third passage Professor Neilson quotes Wordsworth to show how "the poetry of common life may become the theme of a romantic writer." "(Wordsworth) himself states in his famous Preface that his object was" to choose incidents and situations from common life, . . . and to throw over them a certain coloring of the imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect; . . . "(Wordsworth, Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800). It appears from this statement that Wordsworth's main aim was not that truth to fact which characterizes the Realist; nor was it to give support to a democratic view of society. It was the legitimate purpose of the imaginative artist; . . ."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Essentials of Poetry*, by W. A. Neilson. Riverside Press, 1912, Chap. 1, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 3, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 3, p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> *Essentials of Poetry*, by W. A. Neilson. Riverside Press, 1912. Chap. 3, pp. 79, 80.

Tieck's example is no less at variance with the above definition of romanticism than with that of Heine. Broadly speaking, literary treatment of the lower middle class by German writers is either descriptive or controversial. Descriptive treatment may be imaginative or realistic, or it may combine elements of both manners, as does Tieck when, besides making abundant use of realistic description, he connects the artisan with the artist and endows the lower middle class with some of the refinement and virtues of its social superiors. Controversial treatment usually contrasts the common citizen and the noble. This method is least realistic when it takes the shape of bitter opposition to class privilege, as is often the case when it arises from tendencies of the Storm and Stress or revolutionary periods. At times it attempts a reconciliation of the classes by blending real conditions with idealistic visions. It becomes especially realistic when it contrasts an outworn feudal aristocracy with the most energetic element of the upper middle class, the merchants and industrialists. Tieck generally employs the second of these methods, but also makes use of the third to contrast the noble and the merchant alike unfavorably with the laborer. Thus both his descriptive and his controversial treatment of the lower middle class contain a generous proportion of realism. The faculty of reason he employs especially in the selection of typical detail.

In several important respects Tieck appears to have been an innovator, whose works either influenced or foreshadowed a long line of subsequent productions. From his predecessors particularly he is distinguished by his decided yet conciliatory attitude and by the peculiar blend of reason and the sense of fact with imagination which marks his portrayal of the class he favors. Our analysis of his treatment of this class will be introduced by a brief outline of the same theme as it appears in the works of earlier German authors of the eighteenth century and followed by a discussion of its appearance up to 1870. This outline does not pretend to be exhaustive. Yet even a brief comparison of Tieck's works with those of the men by whom he might have been influenced or upon whom his own influence may have been exerted will not perhaps be wholly valueless.

In German poetry of the eighteenth century the middle class, both upper and lower, receives comparatively slight

attention. Of the few instances occurring in the earlier decades none are of a controversial nature and few are actually descriptive. Friedrich von Hagedorn, in *Johann der muntere Seifensieder* (1738), praised the cheerful toiler without attempting to describe his character or existence. In Zachariä's *Renommist* (1744) the incidental figure of a hair-dresser is noteworthy because of its resemblance to one of Tieck's types. Gellert's *Fables* (1746-1748) appealed to middle class sentimentalism and morality, without portraying closely the life of this social group. In the *Idyllen* of Salomon Gessner (1756), pictures of rural life devoid of all reality combined features of the herdsman's patriarchal existence as depicted by Klopstock in the idyllic passages of the *Messias* and *Adams Tod*, with the insipid arcadian atmosphere of French shepherds and shepherdesses. Similar traits are not uncommon in some of Tieck's earlier lyrics and *Märchen*. The realistic reaction against such descriptions of life in the country led in a few cases to a faithful and detailed portrayal of actual conditions. "Maler" Müller, in his *Schafschur* (1775) and *Das Nusskernen*, was the first to describe peasant life in the Pfalz in a vein of realism which at times is even coarse. Following him, Johann Heinrich Voss, in *Luise* and *Der siebenzigste Geburtstag* (1784, 1785), gave detailed pictures of North Germany country life. Among the imitators of Voss were Baggesen, F. W. A. Schmidt and Kosegarten, the author of *Jukunde, eine ländliche Dichtung*, and Goethe himself was inspired by *Luise* to write *Hermann und Dorothea* (1797). Both this poem and those of Voss deal with members of the lower middle class, including the artisan but excluding the peasant. Upon the latter, who forms the subject of Müller's poems, Tieck bestowed little or no attention. The fisher, hunter, shepherd, and weaver in *Luise* and above all the landlord in *Hermann und Dorothea* constitute a few noteworthy predecessors of similar types occurring in his works.

A rôle of much greater importance was assigned the middle class in eighteenth century drama. That the "bürgerliche Tragödien" and "Lustspiele," however, were concerned at the outset chiefly with the upper bourgeoisie appears clearly in the works of their first exponent, Lessing, which are both controversial and descriptive in character. Especially is this true of *Miss Sara Samson* (1755), *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767) and

Emilia Galotti (1772). The landlord in *Minna von Barnhelm* alone exhibits certain characteristics of a type later developed by Tieck. Emilia Galotti contains a protest against the abuses of the nobility in their relations to their social inferiors. Apart from Lessing, the writers of drama who treat the subject controversially are relatively unimportant. A number of middle class situations depicted in writings of the Storm and Stress period are conceived as protests against the oppressive privileges of a higher social order. As an example we may cite Törring's *Agnes Bernauerin* (1780), in which the heroine is sacrificed not to society at large, as by Hebbel, but to the conflict of classes. A second favorite Storm and Stress motif is that of the humble maiden led astray, as in H. L. Wagner's *Kindermörderin* (1776). These subjects naturally did not appeal to the classic writers except in their period of youthful production. In *Egmont* (1788) a noble is not only the friend of the masses but receives love and inspiration from a maiden of lowly birth. Iffland's works, unlike those of Schröder, also treated the subject of class conflicts. The presentation of this theme in nearly all of the works above named is more bitter and uncompromising than in the works of Tieck.

The numbers if not the importance of the writers of drama who treat the subject descriptively are much greater. Lessing's early friend, C. F. Weisse, like the more famous writer himself depicted principally the upper middle class in his popular *Lustspiele*; in his operettas based on English and French originals, such as *Der Teufel ist los* (1752), *Der lustige Schneider* (1759) and *Der Dorfbarbier* (1771), emphasis is laid upon the innocence and simplicity of country life in contrast with that of cities; while individual characters, such as the cobbler in *Der Teufel ist los*, show a certain resemblance to types described by Tieck. In opposition to the "Ritterdramen" of the period, Otto von Gemmingen wrote in 1780 *Der deutsche Hausvater*, based on Diderot's *Père de Famille* and confined within a narrower social sphere than the plays of Lessing. The realistic and typical figures here portrayed influenced Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* (1784) as well as the *Sittengemälde* of Iffland.<sup>8</sup> In *Clavigo* (1774), Goethe adopted the social atmosphere of Lessing's

<sup>8</sup> *Geschichte von der deutschen Litteratur* von Fr. Vogt und Max Koch. Leipzig und Wien, 1877, p. 613.

dramas for a setting; in *Die Geschwister* (conceived 1776, appeared 1787) the plot involves the domestic joys of a life devoted to industrious 'Erwerb im Kleinen.' Goethe's friend Merck, in his review of *Werthers Leiden*, wrote: "Wer nicht den epischen und dramatischen Geist in den geheimsten Scenen des häuslichen Lebens erblickt, der wage sich nicht in die ferne Dämmerung einer idealischen Welt," and later followed his own advice by writing a series of just such dramatic "Genrebilder des häuslichen Lebens."<sup>9</sup> In conclusion, Iffland and Schröder were the foremost portrayers of middle class existence in the German drama of the eighteenth century. Though lacking the creative artistry of Lessing, they did more toward exact reproduction of the social milieu. Similar to theirs but artistically much inferior are the plays of Kotzebue. Many of the dramatic works here enumerated describe the life of the upper middle class, others deal with domestic situations rather than with the broader range of professional or class existence. As a result of these qualities, precursors of Tieck's sociological views are almost as rare among them as among the dramas of a controversial nature.

Unlike the dramas, the few novels of this century which deal with middle class characters and situations are almost exclusively controversial. Wieland in *Die Abderiten* (1774) satirized the life of the middle class in provincial communities: the trial concerning the donkey's shadow he terms "ein feines bürgerliches Drama"; the characters of the tinker and shoemaker, both demagogues, in a measure anticipate similar types in Tieck's writings.<sup>10</sup> In two works of about the same period the evils of class prejudice are represented. *Werther's* (1774) hypochondria is increased by his unpleasant experiences among the nobility. *Siegwart* (1776), by J. H. Müller, involves two pairs of lovers in difficulties arising from unequal social rank. Karl Phillip Moritz' *Anton Reiser* (1785), written under the influence of Rousseau's *Confessions*, is a Storm and Stress novel of introspection, its hero the son of an artisan. The work contains a realistic account of sufferings arising from the conflict of an

<sup>9</sup> Hermann Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 111, Band. 1. Abtheilung, pp. 414, 415.

<sup>10</sup> *Deutsche National Literatur*, Bd. 53. *Geschichte der Abderiten*, pp. 259, 260.



emotional nature with the restrictions of "das deutsche Kleinleben." Finally, in certain works of Jean Paul Richter, the forerunner of Romanticism, the author's unrestrained flights of fancy are curiously combined with sentimental description of the quiet life of a small community. Such are the realistic idylls, *Leben des vergnügten Schulmeisters Wuz*, *Quintus Fixlein*, *Katzenbergers Badereise*, portions of *Siebenkäs* and *Die Flegeljahre*. As Jean Paul himself was anything but a lover of plain fact, these stories with all their peculiar realism do not afford true pictures of middle class life.

Tieck's strong belief in the dignity and importance of the artisan as well as his hostility or indifference to the upper middle class and the peasantry explains the difference between his treatment of these social groups and that of most of the writers who preceded him. Thus, as has already been noted, the spirit of his works bears no resemblance either to the earlier "bürgerliche Dramen" or to the realistic descriptions of peasant life by "Maler" Müller, because of his comparative indifference to the sections of society therein represented. On the other hand, owing to his high conception of the artisan's calling, Tieck was far from regarding the restrictions of lower middle class existence as a fit subject for satire like that of *Die Abderiten*, an excuse for spiritual unrest such as is described in *Moritz*' Anton Reiser, for melancholy resembling that of Werther or revolt in the manner of other Storm and Stress authors. Apparent exceptions to the truth of this statement, such as *Die Schildbürger* and other works written in satire of Philistinism, only prove the general rule by their adverse criticism of what Tieck by no means regarded as the essential character of "das Kleinbürgertum." His keen interest in professional detail appears in all his pictures of middle class family life, distinguishing them from the domestic *Genrebilder* of Iffland, Schröder and Kotzebue, as well as from the moralizing poetry of Hagedorn and Gellert and the prose idylls of Richter. Finally, Tieck's writings show no resemblance to the treatment of different classes of society in most of Goethe's works, because these works are also devoid of any significant reference to lower middle class occupations. *Clavigo* and *Die Geschwister* moreover deal respectively with the upper bourgeoisie and the merchant. Egmont's friendship for the people is based purely upon generous senti-

ment, without any suggestion of the moral quality of the classes, so often emphasized by Tieck. Even in *Werther*, the motif of class-distinctions is of an incidental nature.

Of very different importance is a work which has so far escaped mention—a work which served as a model not for Tieck only but for the Romantic School in general—Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. This romance is the precursor of many of Tieck's views with regard to the lower middle class. In the *Lehrjahre*, Goethe reconciled the difference between the commoner and the noble through the medium of culture. Mielke writes: "Wenn Goethes Wilhelm Meister in dem edelsten Freundschaftsverhältnis zu den adligen Personen des Romanes steht, so eilt die Anschauung des Dichters von der Ebenbürtigkeit des Geistes den gesellschaftlichen Begriffen seiner Zeit weit voraus." In the *Wanderjahre*, Goethe displayed a marked advance beyond his standpoint of twenty-five years before. The representative of the middle class in the *Lehrjahre* is Meister, a merchant's son, a member of the upper bourgeoisie. In the *Wanderjahre*, the interest of Odvardo and Lothario is attracted by artisans who are inspired by an ideal of culture peculiarly adapted to their existence, the connection of handicraft with art, or the universal dignity of creative labor.

It is now time to consider in detail Tieck's treatment of the lower middle class. The statements already made concerning this subject must be arranged in proper relation to one another, and illustrated by reference to the various works by the authority of which they are supported. Owing to the limitations imposed by a brief summary, few quotations will be given. Our effort will be directed towards showing how Tieck's views differed not merely from those of the writers who preceded him, but from the traditions which define romanticism as a tendency characterized by the predominance of imagination over reason and the sense of fact and as favoring the nobility above other social classes. Among earlier writers it has been seen that controversial treatment was less common than descriptive. In this connection, the full extent of Tieck's originality is shown by his views on the relation between the lower middle class and the nobility.

In his comparisons of laborer and nobleman Tieck shows at first an impartiality which develops into a decided preference

for the former. In the earliest of these comparisons he insists on the necessity for strict maintenance of outer class distinctions. This appears in two satirical episodes, one of which contrasts the idyllic existence of the shepherd with the noisy bustle of the world of rank. In *Die Sieben Weiber des Blaubart*, we read of a wounded knight who is nursed by a shepherd's daughter. At length, when cured of his wounds and after some hesitation, he decides to marry his nurse. Magdalene, however, proves a coquette, and the unhappy husband is driven to exclaim: "Verflucht sei das Landleben, verflucht sei alle ländliche Natürlichkeit."<sup>11</sup> Discontent with his condition on the part of a member of the lower class is satirized in the Märchen, *Abraham Tonelli*, in which a discontented tailor, after having left home and encountered the most improbable adventures, is changed into a donkey as the result of having eaten a magic herb. Upon tasting some thistles and finding them to his satisfaction, he exclaims: "Kann man mehr als sich satt essen?—warum, Tonerl, willst du die Nase immer so hoch tragen? Kannst du nicht auch einmal mit deinem Stande zufrieden leben?"<sup>12</sup>

Thus far we have encountered no clear description of either class upon which to base the contentment so strongly recommended. In Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen*, the only remaining instance from the romantic period, Franz delivers a eulogy upon the dignity and happiness of a life of toil. This truth is still more strongly impressed upon him by a man whose life has been ruined through an impractical enthusiasm for art. Connected both with this and with a later period of Tieck's literary production is the novelle, *Der junge Tischlermeister* (1811-1836), the original conception of which, antedating even that of Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen*, was matured by a slow completion. It contains numerous references to the contentment, selfrespect and security of the laborer. A noble praises earlier conditions among the working class, while the value of class distinctions is asserted by a servant of the same character. It is the formal distinctions of class and occupation, however, upon which Tieck here insists; happiness and self-respect, as

<sup>11</sup> *Tiecks Schriften*, Berlin bei G. Reimer, 1828-56, Bd. 9, pp. 202, 203, 206, 216.

<sup>12</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 9, pp. 247, 260.

will later be shown yet more clearly, being the common possession of noble and artisan.

In thus emphasizing outer class distinctions Tieck clung to an order which was rapidly passing at the time in which he wrote. Freytag writes in connection with this period, about 1790: "Outer distinctions between the classes begin to dwindle whereas the inner difference has become even greater." Tieck protests against this new development. Baron Elsheim in *Der junge Tischlermeister* remarks: "Es ist sehr schädlich, dass seit lange die sogenannten höheren Stände so völlig abgesondert vom Bürger und Handwerker leben, dass sie diesen nun gar nicht kennen, und auch das Vermögen verlieren, ihn kennen zu lernen. Nicht nur geht das schöne Vertrauen verloren, wodurch sich Höhere und Niedere verbinden und einfügen würden, welches eben aus dieser Kenntniss Stärke und Kraft erwirkte; sondern der Vornehmere kommt nun auf den thörichten Wahn, dass seine Art und Weise des Haushalts, die nichtssagende Etikette, die er einführt, sein nüchternes Leben mit den Bedienten und Domestiken ein besseres, anständigeres sei, und diese Thorheit verdirbt nachher den Bürgerstand."<sup>13</sup> A converse example of this tendency is given in the same story by an artisan who is filled with hatred and distrust of the nobility, and bitterly criticizes a comrade who enjoys free intercourse with congenial spirits in the higher class.

While the maintenance of outer distinctions is still insisted upon Tieck here first shows an inclination to regard them as of less importance than the development of character. Yet in none of his other works are the differences between the two classes in habits of living, manners and appearance more clearly defined. First of all, the home surroundings of the lower middle class, as has been suggested by the closing words of the last quotation, are regarded as of a peculiar value for the character of its members. Even the outer appearance of such persons betrays their social standing, through characteristics acquired in the course of their occupation. Professional habits are no less marked than personal appearance and manners of living. Yet this difference in appearance, habits and surroundings is quite compatible, according to Tieck, with an inner equality between the classes. Both *der junge Tischlermeister* and his

<sup>13</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 28, p. 402.

friend, Baron Elsheim, are inspired by a love for art which draws them together: both, it is true, are exceptionally cultivated members of their respective social groups. With regard to their mental and moral capacity Tieck here represents both classes as potentially equal. Moreover, those individuals who surpass others of their own class in these qualities are less dependent upon their milieu for strength of character. It is from choice rather than from necessity that der junge Tischlermeister returns from the house of the baron to the surroundings in which the greater part of his life has been spent.

As times change, however, one class has gradually surpassed the other in the proportion of its members who attain to high mental and moral development. Tieck admits that in his day the lower middle class was fast out-distancing the nobility in the possession of qualities which confer moral leadership. In der junge Tischlermeister, the modesty and open bearing of the artisan are contrasted by ladies of rank with the haughty manners and ambiguous language of his friend, the baron.<sup>14</sup> The latter's faithful servant exclaims to the artisan: "Ach, die Vornehmen. Sie müssen ja immer mehr und mehr das Regiment in unserer verwirrten Welt verspielen."<sup>15</sup>

In the later works the same ideas are further developed. At the outset, we encounter the theme of distinctive physical characteristics in *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen*.<sup>16</sup> With regard to the mental qualities of the lower class Tieck is here more conservative and realistic than in *Der junge Tischlermeister*: "Das ist es ja, warum es in dieser Klasse von Leuten so oft besser gelingt, als in den Höhern: Bildung haben sie nicht, aber die rechte Glaubensfähigkeit."<sup>17</sup> In the same work occurs an intimation of superiority of character in the lower class. The son of a noble reproaches his father for having invited a miller lad to his table in the company of travellers of higher birth, with whom he has been sheltered during a storm. The father replies: "Was deinen Müller betrifft, so war mir sein kindliches Gesicht und herzliches Wesen lieber und ehrte mein Tisch mehr, als es

<sup>14</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 28; *Der junge Tischlermeister*, Erster Teil, pp. 199, 200.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>16</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 26, *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen*, p. 110.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

dein Marschall Montrevel . . . jemals könnte."<sup>18</sup> Later in the story the potential moral equality of the classes is suggested. The young noble, who had been full of contempt for members of a lower social order and particularly for the insurgent Camisards, becomes converted and joins their ranks. At first he finds the situation no less peculiar than do his humbler companions; soon, however, to their astonishment he entreats them to address him as "Du."<sup>19</sup>

A second *Novelle*, *Dichterleben*, contains an instance in which the social standing of a character is guessed at from his appearance.<sup>20</sup> *Der Dichter und sein Freund* contains the following words, spoken by a poet: "Man soll nie vergessen, dass auch in der ruhigen Beschäftigung, in der Arbeit des Feldes oder der Gewerke, im scheinbar Niedrigen und Unbedeutenden das Himmlische gegenwärtig sein kann."<sup>21</sup> We next encounter two historical pictures, showing the quarrels of artisans with the nobility in the middle ages. In *Der wiederkehrende griechische Kaiser*, various guilds revolt against the impositions of the nobility. On the other hand, a member of the latter class warns a friend against the greed and fickleness of the masses.<sup>22</sup> In *Der Hexen Sabbath*, the wealthy guild-masters refuse to make a loan to the nobility, from motives of fear and jealousy.<sup>23</sup> Here the relation of the classes, so often idealized by Tieck in works whose scene is laid in his own day, is represented with greater realism in the description of their mediæval rivalry, which implies moral weakness on the part of both.

In *Die Ahnenprobe*, Tieck at first depicts with approval the external distinctions and inner equality which existed between the classes in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. A young noble, in love with an artisan's daughter, vainly beseeches her to disregard their respective stations and become his wife. To the entreaties of her lover the young girl opposes a firm refusal, reminding him of the duties of his position. Later in life the count realizes the value of that which he has preserved

<sup>18</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 26, p. 118.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 205.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 18, p. 178.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 18, Zweiter Theil, p. 201.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 22, pp. 210, 294, 316.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 20, pp. 405, 406.

at the cost of his personal happiness. In the meanwhile, the son of the artisan's daughter, who has married and spent her life amid her accustomed surroundings, is engaged as a tutor in the count's family and falls in love with his daughter. The youth is ignorant of his mother's early love, the noble, of the young man's parentage. It is now the count's turn to reject all thought of such a union, by employing the arguments used by his former sweetheart, yet at the same time he declares that he regards all class-distinctions as possessing originally but an arbitrary value, to which in time true worth attaches by their honorable continuance.

On the point of despair, the youth discovers a document deposited for safe keeping in a church three hundred years previously by one of his ancestors. The latter's father had failed of deserved promotion in the army on account of his common birth, and had established a shop in the woolen trade. After relating these facts, the ancestor's account contains the reflection that the possession of noble birth implies the assurance of an honorable descent, and contrasts with this implication the behaviour of certain nobles, whose deviation from an upright life nevertheless leaves them in the enjoyment of their privileges. The manuscript then continues: "So bin ich denn alt geworden, ich Johannes Frimann, ein ehrsamer Schneidermeister hier in der Hauptstadt unseres Fürsten. Da kam ich auf den Gedanken, ob es denn nicht möglich sei, eine Art von Bürgeradel oder eine begründete Bürgerlichkeit zu stiften—Ich liebte meinen Sohn und in Gedanken schon meine Nachkommenschaft, und wie es des Regenten schönste und bitterste Sorge ist, seinen Enkeln ein unzerrüttetes Reich zu hinterlassen, so schien es mir wichtig, einen guten Namen den Meinigen zu stiften und zu erhalten. Ich schenkte eine Summe der Kirche Lambertus, und stiftete hiermit, dass jeder Frimann sein Leben einreicht, wenn er alt ist, und Probst und Geistlichkeit das Ehrbare seines Wandels bestätigen. Auf drei Jahrhunderte hinaus soll diese Grille oder Gedanke reichen, wenn mein Geschlecht nicht vorher ausstirbt."<sup>24</sup> The difference between the old and this new order of nobility is clearly a matter of outer forms, which in both cases are the symbols of strength of character that gives them their true value. Only, in the case of the regular nobility, it is sug-

<sup>24</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 22, pp. 160, 161.

gested that inner worth does not always correspond to external dignity. The subordinate value of outer class distinctions is now further emphasized.—The count, who had promised his consent to his daughter's marriage if the suitor could prove his nobility of birth, is moved to the fulfillment of his word by the above discovery and by the sudden appearance of his former love, now a widow. To her he exclaims in newly awakened affection: "Sage mir, ach! sage mir, Geliebteste, was ist die Liebe?" "Unser unverschleiertes Selbst, sagte sie, . . . Nein, nicht Stand, Pflicht, Amt, nicht diese Kleider unseres Lebens sind wir." The idea of an inherent moral distinction between the classes is rejected because honor and love are shown to be the exclusive possessions of neither and are of greater importance than external differences. The bridegroom is granted a patent of nobility by the king, who thus in recognition of his moral worth bestows upon him the outer distinctions of his bride and her more ancient social order.

The idea that the nobility is not always so faithful as the lower middle class to its own best traditions, expressed by Tieck in the above work and in *Der junge Tischlermeister*, reappears in the following passage from *Die Vogelscheuche*: "Aber die Blumen an sich, die weiter nichts als solche sind, sind in der Natur das, was eine gewisse unnütze vornehme Welt in den Staaten ist, die nicht arbeitet, die aller Sorgen enthoben ist und mit Verachtung auf die braven gewerbtreibenden Klassen hinunterblickt."<sup>25</sup>

The first part of the *Novelle, Eigensinn und Laune* contains the same idea. A *Geheimrat*, on discovering that his daughter is in love with a stage-driver, consoles himself with the thought that the latter's exceptional character must be a mark of higher than plebian birth. The young fellow, however, declares that he has simply abstained from the vulgar associates and surroundings which are so often encountered in his calling. Left to himself, the father soliloquizes as follows: "Wir denken immer, unsere sogenannte gute Erziehung bringe erst Menschen hervor. Und wie oft verhüllt sich nur in unserm Stande die Gemeinheit der Seele und der Sitten, und ist dabei viel schlimmer als die der niederen Stände. . . . Wo es noch Bürgerstand giebt, liefert

<sup>25</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 27, p. 76.



er . . . oft so zu sagen Musterbilder, wahre Männer, die das Handwerk, statt sie zu erniedrigen, erst zu ihrer festen Bestimmtheit herausgearbeitet hat."<sup>26</sup>

In the remainder of the story a new connection is established between this assumption of the spiritual inferiority of the noble and the familiar plea for the maintenance of outer class-distinctions. It is clear that such distinctions have not hitherto been regarded by Tieck as inseparable from the virtues which both orders of society should possess. In *Der junge Tischlermeister* we were told that there are in each class individuals of higher and lower capacities, the former of whom are less dependent on their accustomed surroundings for moral support than the latter. Die Ahnenprobe described a young woman who at first refused to abandon the outer marks of class distinction, but who in the end realized that these are not necessarily inseparable from the highest qualities of human nature. Now, however, we find Tieck insisting that these distinctions must be preserved, for the protection of lower class character.—The wardrobe of the young man in *Eigensinn und Laune* is replenished, he takes lessons in dancing, fencing and music, and is zealous in his attempt to become adapted to his new surroundings. On the day of the betrothal, all the guests are astonished at his attractive manners and fund of information; only the bride-to-be flees from his presence exclaiming to her father, who has followed her: "Ach! es ist zum Erbarmen! er ist ja ganz wie die übrigen Menchen geworden! . . . Sieh nur selbst, wie geziert und steif er ist, wie er die Phrasen drechselt und ihm die eigentlichen Gedanken abgehen. So ein Leben, wie er es jetzt führt, ist kein wahres, lebendiges, nein, er ist ein Gespenst, eine schlechte, Menschen nachgekünstelte Puppe." The poor youth himself flees from this fatal environment, leaving a note for the father, in which he writes: "Für meinen ehemaligen Stand verdorben, ist doch keine Fähigkeit in mir, irgend einen andern mit Sicherheit zu ergreifen."<sup>27</sup>

A similar though intentionally exaggerated estimate of the relative merits of the two classes appears in *Die Verlobung*: "Es fehlte noch, dass die Verleumdung, Klatscherei, Neid und Verfolgung der grossen Gesellschaft einen Lobredner fänden;

<sup>26</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 24, pp. 299, 300.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 24, pp. 318, 321.

es bleibt dann nur noch übrig, die stille Tugend, die schöne Bürgerlichkeit, die kindliche Unschuld und edle Einfalt der nicht vornehmen Welt zu schmähen."<sup>28</sup> The last instance in which the nobility is mentioned bears witness to the same attitude on the part of the writer. A passage in *Die Klausenburg* describes a nobleman with the words: "War dieser Mann von seinen Untergebenen geliebt, so wurde er auch von vielen seines Standes gehasst und beneidet, von den die Klügern ihm zurnten, weil er sie vermied und sie wohl einsahen, das er sie wegen ihres Unfleisses nur gering schätzte: . . . Der Graf also zog sich missmuthig immer mehr in sich zurück, und ihm war nur wohl wenn er sich von Geschäften mit verständigen Bergleuten, Maschinenmeistern oder Gelehrten unterhalten konnte."<sup>29</sup>

There can be no doubt that in his last period of literary activity Tieck regarded the lower middle class as the mental and moral superior of the nobility. In *Die Vogelscheuche*, the idle egotism of the latter is contrasted with the industry of the former. In *Eigensinn und Laune*, empty rhetoric and artificial conventions are opposed to unfettered common sense. *Die Verlobung* defines one class as scandal-loving, envious and malicious, the other as marked by innocence, simplicity and public-spirit. Finally, in *Die Klausenburg*, the idle and unproductive life of the nobility marks its inferiority to the industry and common-sense of the lower class. Though this extreme attitude characterizes only Tieck's later works, his earlier ones sufficiently contradict Heine's statement that Tieck's interest in the lower middle class was confined chiefly to his later period. While yet in Nicolai's service, he ridicules the sentimental discontent of members of either class with their own conditions of existence. In *Der junge Tischlermeister* he lays increased stress upon distinctions, though he now considers them of minor importance for highly developed individuals. At the same time he holds that both classes are potentially one another's equals with respect to moral and mental qualities, though fewer of the nobility than of the lower class attain full self-development. If we include *Der junge Tischlermeister* among the works of Tieck's earlier period—where it certainly belongs with respect to its original conception and perhaps also, in the main, to its

<sup>28</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 17, p. 138.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 25, *Die Klausenburg*, p. 83.

composition—the difference between the point of view of the two periods is much less than Heine would make it appear. At no time did Tieck favor the nobility of any age at the expense of their social inferiors.

Tieck's views on the relation of the two classes are likewise at variance with the definition which affirms the predominance of imagination in romantic works. In Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen* he presents a fairly realistic picture of the virtues and rewards of the life of toil among the lower class. The realistic depiction of class conflicts in *Der wiederkehrende griechische Kaiser* and *Der Hexen Sabbath* is the more striking because it treats of mediæval conditions which are supposed to have appealed especially to the imagination of the Romanticist. Minor instances of realism abound in the works of Tieck's earlier period. The faculty of reason, displayed in the selection of typical detail is also apparent in his treatment of this theme. Instances have already been noted of the manner in which he asserts the inferiority of the noble by re-iterated reference to certain weaknesses of his order. In Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen*, the traits mentioned as characteristic of lower middle class existence are industry, independence and happiness. Various passages in *Der junge Tischlermeister* emphasize the laborer's contentment with his social position, pride in his work, respect for his superiors, physical characteristics acquired in his trade and increasing cultivation. All of the above traits are expressly stated to be typical of the classes to which they are ascribed.

As has been already remarked, few German writers before Tieck approached the subject of the lower middle class in a controversial manner. Most of the exceptions to this statement consist in writings of the Storm and Stress period, which are sufficiently distinguished by their bitterness from Tieck's conciliatory views on the relations of the lower class to the nobility. Between Tieck's descriptive treatment of the lower middle class and that of his predecessors, on the other hand the difference is frequently one of degree rather than of kind.

The chief indication of Tieck's interest in this class consists in the characterizations of its members which are scattered through his works. Their variety and frequency of recurrence are noteworthy: eighteen different occupations are represented,

none of which appears less than three times. That the characters belonging to each of these occupations possess qualities which are strongly marked and well-nigh invariable, proves the frequency of Tieck's employment of the supposedly unromantic faculty of reason in the creation of types. Among these types the landlord and the stage-driver stand somewhat apart, distinguished by few of the qualities which divide the others into two main groups. For reasons of convenience, however, they may be assigned to the first, in which are included the baker, brewer, butcher, weaver, shoemaker, tailor, hairdresser, smith and joiner, who earn their living more or less by the skilled work of their hands. The second group comprises those whose labors are performed in coöperation or close contact with Nature, and includes the tinker, fisherman, forester, shepherd, gardener, miner and charcoal burner. By virtue of a few characteristic qualities we may add the miller to this group.—With the artisan or city-laborer Tieck contrasts unfavorably the manufacturer: to the country types which he favors is opposed a member of the same group, the peasant, who is represented infrequently and with scant praise. The general types which result from Tieck's treatment of these sections of the lower middle class will form the next subject of our consideration.

In the works preceding *Der junge Tischlermeister*, no reference occurs to artisan characters unconnected with a specific calling. *Der junge Tischlermeister*, however, though composed near the middle period of Tieck's literary production, shows evidence of its conception during his more romantic youth. In this *Novelle*, handicraft is declared to be related to art by the skill and industry of the worker, while the artisan is represented as cordial towards his fellow-men, a self-respecting and valuable member of society. Labor simply for the end of practical usefulness is for the hero of the book too meager a content of life, though in itself praiseworthy. At the close of day the master, seated at table together with his family, journeymen and apprentices, warns the latter like a father against evil ways and encourages them in their common interests.

Later on the picture suffers some realistic modifications, especially concerning the relation of handicraft to art and the quality of "bürgerliche Ehre." In earlier *Novellen*, such as *Die Gemälde*, *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen* and *Glück giebt*

Verstand, the connection of handicraft with art is no longer mentioned, though the skill and industry of the artisan are emphasized. In three of the latest, *Der Tod des Dichters*, *Die Ahnenprobe* and *Weihnacht-Abend*, the artisan retains the characteristic of unaffected kindliness of heart, but displays a somewhat narrow pride in a hardwon position of respectability, in place of the romantic "Ehre" of *Der junge Tischlermeister*. A frank portrayal of the power of the mediæval guilds in *Der wiederkehrende griechische Kaiser*, *Der Hexen Sabbath* and *Der Tod des Dichters*, though not corresponding to Tieck's ordinary view of the artisan's social importance, at least emphasizes it as a fact. The type thus evolved is an original creation of its author which bears slight resemblance to current conceptions of this section of society. In the popular songs contained in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, emphasis is laid upon the care-free, turbulent and lazy character of apprentices and journeymen; in proverbs and popular sayings it is placed mainly upon the artisan's desire for gain and political influence. Nothing is more apparent than Tieck's aversion to the rationalistic and popular conception of material profit as the goal of the artisan's existence.

The manufacturer as portrayed by Tieck almost always represents the *Aufklärung*. In his free translation of Jonson's *Volpone*, the object of satire becomes the exaggerated "Nützlichkeitslehre" of this movement, which confounds factory-labor with handicraft, material progress with the sole aim of society. In another satire, *Prinz Zerbino*, the hero congratulates a miller (representing the *Aufklärung*), who grinds all heroic characters and virtues into "ein plattes, unschädliches und ganz gesundes Essen," with the words: "Das, mein Freund, ist die wahre Art, ein Handwerk in eine Kunst zu verwandeln, und es kann kommen, dass Sie selbst mit der Zeit die englischen Fabriken übertreffen." A passage from *Phantasmus* contrasts modern manufacturing methods in Fürth with the artistic handicraft of ancient Nürnberg. Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen* and *Der junge Tischlermeister* represent the manufacturer as lacking all enthusiasm for art, and to this is added in the second work, indifference to the welfare of his employees, in sharpest contrast with the love for artistic labor and the sympathetic interest in his subordinates which Tieck here attributes

to the artisan. In four of the later Novellen, Glück giebt Verstand, Eigensinn und Laune, Der Mondsüchtige and Der Alte vom Berge, almost all of the traits just mentioned reappear, with the exception of the antagonism to art: in the last instance, even the culture and humanity which mark the factory-owner serve to intensify the curse of the soulless factory-system.

Keen as was Tieck's love for Nature in his youth, we find no reference earlier than that contained in the Novelle, Der Wassermensch, to the general group of toilers in field, forest and mountain. Here the effect of their close intercourse with elemental forces is described as a tendency to superstition. In Das alte Buch und die Reise ins Blaue hinein, a toiler among the mountains is impressed by the similarity of "der gutgeartete Mensch" to an Aeolian harp, the strings of which re-echo to every passing breath of Nature. Die Klausenburg contains a reference to the mutual trust and good-will inspired by a life in the solitude. All members of the group, however, do not possess these qualities in an equal degree. A hint of this is conveyed in the passage from Das alte Buch, etc., which speaks of the charcoal-burner and miner as especially prone to superstition. This suggests a less overpowering influence of Nature upon those who live on the plain than in the forest or upon the mountain, and in general the shepherd and gardener are described by Tieck as living in especial harmony with Nature. A song from Die schöne Magelone, sung by a young girl who had found shelter in a shepherd's hut, mentions the friendship of flowers and animals for man. On the other hand, in a poem from the Gedichte, the "Berggeister" demand both boldness and self-sacrifice of him who would approach them-yet they too claim kinship with mankind. This difference in the relation to Nature recurs throughout Tieck's descriptions of the various occupations belonging to the country type.

It is noteworthy that he nowhere dwells upon the limitations of such a life, except to deduce from its solitude certain positive qualities of temperament. In this respect there is a marked difference in his characterizations of peasants, though in the first instance to be noted these limitations appear invested with a sort of romantic charm. Franz Sternbald passes a night at the house of an old peasant, who tells him that his one ambition, not yet fulfilled, is to see Nürnberg. The restricted routine of

the family life forms a sharp contrast with that which Franz has thus far known; its very narrowness appeals to his sentimental, vacillating spirit. In *Der junge Tischlermeister*, Tieck voices his disapproval of the contemporary movement to relieve the peasants' oppressed condition. Two final instances in the *Novellen* lay particular stress on the rude and simple character of the peasant. In *Der Alte vom Berge* he is described briefly as "neugierig" and "vorwitzig," and arouses the contempt of a miner by his ignorance. *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen* contains the bare phrase, "der fromme Ackerbauer." Tieck was in full accord with the spirit of his earlier contemporaries, with the exception of Maler Müller, when he regarded the peasant as outside the pale of ordinary human existence.

These examples of Tieck's treatment of general types furnish abundant exceptions to the definitions of romanticism as a tendency characterized by the predominance of imagination over reason and the sense of fact, and as favoring the nobility above other social classes. In almost every instance the traits above mentioned are expressly stated to be typical of the group to which they are ascribed, showing Tieck's use of the faculty of reason in their selection. In *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* and *Der junge Tischlermeister*, realistic details occur in the descriptions of the life, surroundings and appearance of the general artisan type. Nor was Tieck's definition of these sectional types confined to his later works: if we include *Der junge Tischlermeister* among his romantic writings, mention of both the artisan and country groups is made two-thirds as often in the first as in the second period.

Reference to particular occupations within both groups are far more numerous. The frequency with which the special artisan types occur is as follows: brewer (2), butcher and miner (3), weaver and joiner (4), baker and shoemaker (5), tailor and tinker (6), barber and stage-driver (7), fisher and gardener (8), smith, miller and charcoal-burner (9), shepherd and forester (19), landlord (29). A better indication of the favor with which each type was regarded by Tieck consists in the moral or poetic qualities bestowed by him upon it. Originality of conception is another indication of interest, and its extent is proved by the fact that the majority of these types have no exact parallels in current conceptions of the trades.

Thus, the types of the stage-driver, smith and joiner show no resemblance whatever to a corresponding popular figure, while a far larger number appear in a somewhat more favorable light than that of the proverbs, popular sayings and Volksbücher. Tieck's weaver has a character for piety and lacks his popular attribute of dishonesty;<sup>30</sup> his butcher is not merely greedy and simple, as in current report,<sup>31</sup> but bluff and straight-forward in manner; the shoemaker in his works is professionally alert in addition to being loud-mouthed and a demagogue;<sup>32</sup> the barber not only vivacious and talkative<sup>33</sup> but artistically inclined. In only two instances out of twenty-nine is Tieck's landlord of a murderous disposition:<sup>34</sup> the baker only once dishonest.<sup>35</sup> The tailor alone is the scape-goat, rather excelling than falling behind

<sup>30</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, von R. Eckart, 1901. Nr. 2866. Zehn Müller, zehn Schneider und zehn Weber sind dreissig Diebe. Ibid. Nr. 3062. Schuster, Schneider, Leineweber verlogene Leute. Ibid. Nr. 3098. Der Leineweber schlachtet alle Jahr zwei Schwein, das eine ist gestohlen, das andere nicht sein.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., Nr. 2583. Wo Gerber und Metzger sind, da heisst es: Brot her, Brot her. Nr. 2521. a. Wenn der Fleischer füttert, will er mästen. Nr. 2519. Ein ehrlicher Bandit ist besser als ein Fleischer. Nr. 2526. Metzger, Gerber und Schinder sind zusammen Geschwisterkinder.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., Nr. 3006. Schneider und Scher (Barbier) lügen sehr, aber die Schuster noch viel mehr. Nr. 3062. Schuster, Schneider, Leineweber verlogene Leut. Nr. 3055. Ein predigender Schuster macht schlechte Schuhe. *Die deutschen Volksbücher*, Gesammelt und in ihrer ursprünglichen Echtheit wiederhergestellt, von Karl Simrock. Basel, 1850, Bd. 5. Nr. 9227. Schuster, bleib bei deinem Leisten. *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, pp. 13 ff.; 383.

<sup>33</sup> *Die deutschen Volksbücher*, Bd. 10, Nr. 273. Unter welchen Handwerkern findet man die meisten Schälke? Unter den Barbieren. Stand und Beruf im Volksmund. Nr. 2416. Barbieri werden nicht so alt als Papageien, aber sie sprechen mehr. Nr. 2420. In einer Barbierstube fehlt es nicht an Neuigkeiten.

<sup>34</sup> *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, gesammelt von L. A. von Arnim und Clemens Brentano. Nach der Originalausgabe: Heidelberg 1806-8 neu herausgegeben von Friedrich Bremer, Leipzig, Reclam 1251-1256. "Die Mordwirthin" slays a soldier sleeping under her roof. p. 472. Host robs and murders a travelling princess. *Volksbücher*, Hrg. von G. D. Marbach, Leipzig, 1838, Bd. 9 and 10, pp. 106, 107.

<sup>35</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, Nr. 2384. Wenn der Arme weint, dann lacht der Bäcker, Nr. 2389. Der Bäcker mit der Kratz, der Müller mit der Matz, der Schneider mit der Schnippscher, wo kommen die drei Diebe her? Nr. 2393. Wenn man zehn Bäcker, zehn Müller und zehn Schneider in einem Sack thut und schüttelt, so ist ein Dieb oben. Nr. 2406. Bäcker und Müller zanken miteinander, wer von ihnen der grösste Schelm sei.



his popular counterpart in the qualities of braggadacio and deceitfulness.<sup>36</sup>

The recurrence of definite traits in almost all of these callings is so frequent as to justify their being regarded as typical. There are no exceptions to the strength, simplicity and self-assurance of the butcher; the shoemaker is always alert, either in connection with his trade or with religion and politics; the barber either vivacious and talkative or artistically gifted. The weaver is thrice described as pious or sincere; the joiner thrice, as intelligent or practical and industrious; the tailor five times as ignorant and self-assured or as a mock-heroic adventurer; the smith eight times as amiable, cheerful and intelligent; while but a single exceptional figure appears in each of these callings. Others, with two exceptions to the type, are the brewer (of whom no recurrent characteristics are given); the timid baker, three times mentioned; and the stage-driver, who in five instances is deliberate or cautious and fond of his horses. In the case of the landlord, four individualized figures occur as contrasted with twenty-five typical instances, the first eighteen being at times greedy, conceited, impatient with poor guests and servile to the rich, at times stout, talkative and discontented, while seven later figures are represented as intelligent, genial and dignified.

A second unimaginative element, the sense of fact, appears in the numerous realistic descriptions of this group of figures which occur in Tieck's earlier, distinctively romantic works. In Kaiser Octavianus, the butcher affords a striking example of realism against a background of romantic chivalry. The timid baker in *Die verkehrte Welt* is also realistically drawn. In

<sup>36</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, Nr. 2994, Der Schneider mit der Scher' meint, er sei ein Herr. Nr. 3005. Neun Schneider machen einen Mann. Nr. 3006. Schneider und Scher (Barbier) lügen sehr, aber der Schuster noch viel mehr. Nr. 3014. Dem Schneider ist viel Tuch unter den Tisch gefallen (=für sich behalten). Nr. 3062. Schuster, Schneider, Leineweber, verlogene Leut. *Die deutschen Volksbücher*, Bd. 5, Nr. 9149. Das wär Einer, sagte der Teufel, da kriegt' er einen Schneider bei den Beinen. Also cf. Bd. 10. Verses. Nr. 462, (love of display). Nrs. 463, 464, 465 (diminutive size). Nr. 469 (pride). Nrs. 466, 467, 471 (stupidity). *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Das tapfere Schneiderlein, p. 52, ff.; Schneider im Himmel, p. 87 ff.; Daumerlings Wanderschaft p. 108 ff.; Die beiden Wanderer, p. 259 ff.; Vom klugen Schneiderlein, p. 279 ff.; Der gläserne Sarg, 364 ff.; Der Riese und der Schneider, p. 406.

Abraham Tonelli, a landlord is depicted with sober realism, as well as in two of the three instances in which this figure occurs in *Fortunat*. Perhaps the most true to life of all the characters in *Der junge Tischlermeister* are the three which belong to this calling, while Meister Krummschuh, the joiner, is intentionally described in a much more matter-of-fact style than the hero, Leonhard. The young smith in Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen*, though later enveloped in the romantic atmosphere of the entire work, is at first more soberly represented. Finally, to these instances of complete realism should be added a number of others, where characteristic or professional detail is prominent in otherwise imaginative figures. Such are the shoemaker and landlord in *Der gestiefelte Kater*, the landlord in *Die verkehrte Welt*, the landlord and smith in *Prinz Zerbino*, the shoemaker and barber in *Däumchen* and the barber and joiner in *Fortunat*.

Nor is Tieck's interest in the artisan callings confined, as Heine suggests, chiefly to his later period. In the aggregate, the different occupations recur with almost equal frequency in the earlier and in the later works, while the artisan types which receive most sympathetic treatment appear almost twice as often in those of the earlier period as in the *Novellen*.

No preference can be distinguished for either the artisan or the country laborer. Though the general artisan type recurs with four times (16) the frequency of the general country type (4), yet the types of the various artisan callings appear somewhat less often (81) than those of the country group (83). Judged by the degree of sympathetic treatment accorded them by Tieck, rather than by the frequency of their occurrence, his favorites among the country types are the shepherd, gardener, forester, miner and charcoal-burner.

Tieck's originality is even more apparent in his depiction of the country than of the city types, and consists largely in the more poetic qualities ascribed to the representatives of the country group. Those types which are wholly original are also the most poetic: such are the fisher, shepherd, gardener, forester and miner. The charcoal-burner is also clearly a favorite, though he invariably possesses the trait of hospitality ascribed to him by the *Märchen*.<sup>37</sup> Types which are represented in more

<sup>37</sup> *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, p. 136 ff. *Der Ranzen, das Hütlein und das Hörnlein*.

favorable colors than those assigned to them by current report are the miller, who is kindly and upright instead of thieving and treacherous,<sup>38</sup> and the tinker, who in only one instance out of four shares his popular reputation for drunkenness.<sup>39</sup>

Typical qualities are prominent in most references to members of the country group. Throughout nineteen instances the forester displays a love for his dog and out-of-door life and is keenly responsive to the appeal of Nature. Types in which one exceptional figure is found include the miller, who is twice described as kindly and honest and whose appearance in three other instances is suggestive of his trade; the charcoal-burner, who is eight times described as superstitious, friendly and hospitable; and the miner, who is twice credited with an especially strong tendency to superstition. In the case of the gardener, who is four times characterized by piety and the love for flowers but thrice given a less flattering description, we also encounter two purely individual figures, and three in that of the fisher, who is five times represented as kindly and superstitious. Emphasis is thrice laid upon the wandering existence of the tinker, who is elsewhere thrice described as loquacious and of a grotesque appearance. Finally, love of Nature and of music coupled with hospitality characterize the shepherd in fifteen instances as compared with four exceptional cases.

No less unimaginative are the realistic descriptions which are found in Tieck's distinctively romantic works. These include the description of the shepherd's existence in *Der blonde Eckbert* and *Die schöne Magelone*, the gardener in *Wil-*

<sup>38</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, Nr. 2389. Der Bäcker mit der Kratz, der Müller mit der Matz, der Schneider mit der Schnippscher', wo kommen die drei Diebe her? Nr. 2393. Wenn man zehn Bäcker, zehn Müller und zehn Schneider in einen Sack thut und schüttelt, so ist ein Dieb oben. Nr. 2830. De Dum ist erlikste an de Müller. Nr. 2832. Mühlmahler, Roggenstahler. Nr. 2864. Wenn der Müller ohne Brot, ist im Lande grosse Not, etc. Die deutschen Volksbücher, Bd. 5. Nr. 7127. In der Mühle ist das Beste, dass die Säcke nicht reden können. Nr. 7147a. Er nährt sich aus dem Stegreif, wie ein Müller. Nr. 7140. Müller und Bäcker stehlen nicht, man bringt's ihnen Bd. 7, Nr. 188. Warum nisten die Störche nicht auf Mühlen? Sie fürchten, der Müller stehle ihnen die Eier. Des Knaben Wunderhorn, p. 573. Miller steals corn when grinding. p. 222. Miller kills rich locksmith's son for supposed treasure. p. 148. Miller sells wife and children to murderers.

<sup>39</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, Nr. 2686. Kesselflicker haben Durst.

liam Lovell, the matter-of-fact forester in Rothkäppchen and the charcoal-burner in Genoveva. As instances of partial realism, where characteristic detail is prominent in figures otherwise imaginatively conceived, we may mention the miller in Prinz Zerbino, the shepherd in Genoveva and the gardener in Der Runenberg. Tieck's use of realism is more apparent, however, in the artisan types than in those of the country group.

On the other hand, Heine's statement that Tieck's interest in the middle class is confined chiefly to his later period, is disproved as conclusively by the country as by the city types. In both, the less important occupations recur with almost identical frequency in the two periods, while the five country types which receive most sympathetic treatment are distributed between the earlier period and the Novellen in the following ratio; shepherd, 14 to 5; forester, 11 to 8; gardener, 3 to 5; charcoal-burner, 2 to 7; miner, twice only, in the Novellen.

Tieck's sympathetic analysis of the general types of the toilers in city and country finds no parallel among his predecessors. Most cases of similarity between his middle class descriptions and those of earlier writers consist of individual characters in works of the latter which resemble figures in Tieck's writings, but which are distinguished from them by all the difference between carefully created types, usually of frequent recurrence, and single instances of character portrayal. Such figures are in particular the skilful hair-dresser in Zachariä's *Renommist*, the quarrelsome cobbler in Weisse's *Der Teufel ist los*, the pious weaver in Voss' *Luise*, the greedy landlord in *Minna von Barnhelm* with his more intelligent and dignified counterpart in *Hermann und Dorothea*, the shoemakers in Kleist's *Erdbeben in Chili* and Wieland's *Abderiten*, together with the tinker in the latter work, all three of the last-named characters being noisy demagogues. Kleist's shoemaker and the poetically conceived miner in Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, though belonging to authors who will be mentioned among Tieck's successors, were characters after his own heart and may well have afforded suggestions to the friend and posthumous editor of both writers. These and the figures created by Lessing and Goethe seem most likely to have directly influenced Tieck.

Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, on the other hand, suggested not so much individual characters or types as a new conception of the middle class and its relation to the nobility. The idea of the potential equality of both classes contained in the *Lehrjahre*, Tieck reproduced in *Der junge Tischlermeister* and later works, until he was forced to take a further step and admit that the evidence of contemporary reality placed the artisan in many instances above the noble. The combination of real and ideal elements implied by the connection of handicraft with art which is found in the *Wanderjahre*, also appears in *Der junge Tischlermeister*, though as Tieck's work was composed from 1811 to 1835 and the *Wanderjahre* appeared in 1819, it is uncertain how great the influence of the latter upon the former may have been. Several of Tieck's writings of different periods also resemble the *Wanderjahre* in contrasting handicraft with the soulless machine, which robs the laborer of spiritual and physical nourishment alike.

In discussing the further appearance of the middle class in German writings of the nineteenth century, we will first consider the development of class contrasts and later the purely descriptive work.

Achim von Arnim in *Die Kronenwächter* (1817), written four years before *Die Wanderjahre* were begun, contrasted the various classes of society in the sixteenth century, representing "das kleinstädtische Bürgertum" as the most typical embodiment of national power and intelligence. In Tieck and Wackenroder's conception of national art he found the power which levels social barriers and dignifies the simplest product of the artisan's toil.<sup>40</sup> In many respects he foreshadowed the theory of class-distinctions found in Tieck's *Novellen*: for example, though opposed to the abolition of outer class-distinctions (cf. *Der glückliche Färber*, pp. 302, 312 ff), he conceived the nobility of the future as consisting of the exceptional members of all classes.<sup>41</sup> He also faced squarely the actual conditions of his day, (as Tieck did only toward the close of his career), and acknowledged that the industrious middle class was of

<sup>40</sup> Dr. Karl Wagner, *Die historischen Motive in Arnims "Kronenwächter"* II. Teil Goldap. 1910, pp. 4, 9, 10.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 45.

more service to the state than many a nobleman.<sup>42</sup> Though he defended the nobility, provided they did not oppose the inevitable readjustment of class relations, he went further than Tieck in advocating the political and social enfranchisement not only of the middle class but of the peasantry, in so far as the latter could be educated for its new position.<sup>43</sup> In an earlier work, *Die Gräfin Dolores* (1809), Arnim had contrasted with the nobility the brutal greed of the upper middle class as represented by the merchant.<sup>44</sup> This type, although later abandoned by Arnim, Tieck everywhere depicts in unpleasant colors. Arnim's works probably rank next to *Wilhelm Meister* as precursors of Tieck's method of treatment of social questions in the *Novellen*. It is, however, noteworthy, that neither *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* nor *Die Kronenwächter* could have influenced the romantic period of Tieck's production.

Arnim was less directly connected with Tieck than was Karl Immermann, a later member of the Romantic school. A close friend, admirer and imitator of Tieck, he was, like the latter, of a conservative temperament and opposed to the extreme tenets of the Revolution. On the other hand, he was even more opposed to the narrow class pride of the nobility than Tieck,<sup>45</sup> who was intimate with many persons of rank. Both writers viewed anxiously the part played by the manufacturer in the transition from the feudal to the industrial order of society. Dr. O. Wohnlich has remarked the close parallelism between the two manufacturers, "der alte Onkel" in *Die Epigonen*, and Balthasar in Tieck's *Novelle, Der Alte vom Berge*, ascribing it to direct influence upon the part of Tieck.<sup>46</sup> In *Die Epigonen* (1836), the nobility is bitterly satirized on the score of having lost its "innere Existenzberechtigung," while the soul-destroying counting-house and factory lack this quality altogether. The favor which Tieck showed to the lower middle class, in contrast with the nobility and the industrialists, Immermann reserved for the peasantry. In *Münchhausen* (Der

<sup>42</sup> Dr. Karl Wagner, *Die historischen Motive in Arnims "Kronenwächter"* II. Teil Goldap. 1910, p. 43.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 43.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>45</sup> (p. 35) Alfred Biese, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. 2, p. 541. Dr. Oskar Wohnlich, *Tieck's Einfluss auf Immermann*. Tübingen, 1913, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67-69.

Oberhof, 1838) the same classes are satirized as in *Die Epigonen*: hope for the future is afforded chiefly by the sturdy qualities of the peasant, though that Immermann also conceives of "das Volk" more broadly, is seen in the words of the Diakonus: "Das unsterbliche Volk! . . . ich meine mit Volk die Besten unter den freien Bürgern und den ehrwürdigen, tätigen wissenden, arbeitsamen Mittelstand." The same speaker, referring to the power of tradition in both peasantry and nobility, declares: "Im Mittelstande allein gilt die Freiheit des Individuums, in diesem Stande fließt einzig der Strom der Selbstbestimmung, nach Charakter, Talent, Laune und Willkür."<sup>47</sup>—Although Immermann is opposed to Tieck's conception of the peasant, it seems probable that he owed to the older writer certain features of his attitude toward the middle class.

A number of other writers who contrasted the lower middle class with the nobility or the manufacturer, displayed more or less affinity in their works to certain of Tieck's ideas. Whereas *Die Ritterbürtigen* (1846) by Lewin Schücking, satirized the pride and ignorance of the Westphalian Junkers, <sup>48</sup> Franz Dingelstedt, in *Unter der Erde* (1841), and Berthold Auerbach in *Neues Leben*, represented members of the nobility as fleeing from the artificial existence of their class to the toilsome life of the miner<sup>49</sup>—a favorite type with Tieck. In *Weisse Sklaven* (1845), Ernst Willkomm contrasted the famishing workmen of the Lausitz with the rich manufacturers, bitterly denouncing machine labor as destructive alike to soul and body.<sup>50</sup> A similar situation leads to the destruction of the factories and the restoration of handicraft in Robert Prutz' *Das Engelchen* (1851).<sup>51</sup>

Of far greater importance than any of the above-mentioned writers is the genius of Friedrich Hebbel and the resemblance which appears between his and Tieck's conception of class equality. Though Hebbel was not a member of the Romantic

<sup>47</sup> *Deutsche National-Literatur*, Bd. 160. *Immermanns Werke*, II. Theil. Münchenhausen. II. Bd. p. 54.

<sup>48</sup> H. Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman*, p. 133.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

school, he was chiefly attracted by Tieck's earlier works.<sup>52</sup> He was, however, acquainted with the Novellen, and Camillo von Klenze has drawn attention to the parallelism between certain passages in *Die Gesellschaft auf dem Lande* and *Die Ahnenprobe* on the one hand and *Agnes Bernauer* and *Gyges und sein Ring* on the other, without attempting to determine Tieck's possible influence on Hebbel. Both writers regard class traditions as possessing value only from their association with moral ideals. Tieck indicates this belief most clearly in the attitude of the count in *Der Ahnenprobe*, who is led to a compromise between the traditions of his own and those of a lower class. Similar problems lead with Hebbel only to disaster.<sup>53</sup> Agnes and Albrecht seek in vain to bridge the chasm of class prejudice. Nevertheless, one class is not oppressed by another, as in Töring's *Agnes Bernauerin*. On the contrary, both characters represent the individual's fruitless resistance to the traditions of society as a whole, and are placed on a level of equality by their common disaster.

Last among the greater prose writers before 1870, Gustav Freytag and Friedrich Spielhagen described the conflict between feudalism and industrialism originally indicated by Goethe in *Wilhelm Meister* and after him portrayed by most of the authors above mentioned. In *Soll und Haben* (1855) Freytag followed the suggestion of Julian Schmidt to "seek the German people where alone it is to be found, viz. at its labor."<sup>54</sup> With this purpose in mind he described sympathetically the existence of the lower middle class, limited in its mental horizon but filled with all the charm of German "Gemüt." He also contrasted sharply three different classes, in general the same as those depicted by Tieck, "den redlichen Gewinn und Segen bürgerlicher Tätigkeit, die Leidenschaft unredlichen Gewerbes und niederer Habsucht und den wirtschaftlichen Niedergang adligen Hochmuts und adliger Schwäche."<sup>55</sup> Like Tieck, both Freytag and Spielhagen still sympathized with the nobleman, made

<sup>52</sup> Emil Kuhs *Kritische und Literaturhistorische Aufsätze*. Hg. von A. Schaer. Wien. 1910. p. 145 ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Euphorion*, 20. Bd. 1 & 2. Heft. 1913. p. 165.

<sup>54</sup> H. H. Boyesen, *Essays on German Literature*, N. Y. 1892. Scribner's p. 243.

<sup>55</sup> Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman*, p. 165.



him not infrequently the hero of their works, and were even (unlike Tieck) most successful in the delineation of such characters. Spielhagen did this especially in *Problematische Naturen* (1860). *In Reih' und Glied* (1866) and *Hammer und Ambos* (1869) reflect more strongly the increasing unrest of the proletariat, for which the latter work finds a solution in profit-sharing by factory laborers.<sup>56</sup> Lastly, in the novel *Sturmflut* (1876), the same problem is treated, this time with greater impartiality in describing the weakness both of the noble and the citizen.<sup>57</sup>

Proceeding from controversial to descriptive treatment of the lower middle class in nineteenth century German writings, we will first consider the works of pre-eminently Romantic authors. Among the older school Novalis, in his *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (edited by Tieck, published 1802), represented the hero as learning the art of poetry from an old miner—a character truly after Tieck's own heart. Heinrich von Kleist drew several graphic pictures of lower middle class characters, especially in *Der zerbrochene Krug* (1808) and *Käthchen von Heilbronn*. Little as the armorer in the latter play resembles the smith type found in the writings of Tieck, the editor of Kleist's works may well have received suggestions from various artisan figures, such as the demagogue shoemaker in *Das Erdbeben in Chili*. On the other hand, Tieck's influence is perhaps reflected in the merchant of Hoffmann's *Der Artushof*, whose lack of artistic feeling is peculiarly like that of a similar character in Franz Sternbald's *Wanderungen*, while the relation of master to apprentices and of handicraft to art as depicted in *Meister Martin und seine Gesellen*, by Hoffmann, reminds the reader strongly of certain passages in *Der junge Tischlermeister*. Unlike Hoffmann, who in general made the "Philisterwelt" and "Spiessbürgertum" the objects of literary satire, Brentano (a no less romantic spirit) cherished a secret reverence for such an existence, even though he too wrote of it satirically. "Sei fleissig and mache, dass dir das Bürgerlich-Mechanische nicht verächtlich wird, es ist die Quelle von viel Geistigem," he counselled his sister, Bettina.<sup>58</sup> In *Die Geschichte vom schönen Annerl und braven Kasperl* (1817), the Romantic progenitor

<sup>56</sup> Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman*, pp. 203, 204.

<sup>57</sup> Boyesen, pp. 256, 257. Mielke, pp. 231, 232.

<sup>58</sup> Alfred Biese, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. II, p. 418.

of the later *Dorfgeschichten*, he revealed, in contrast with Tieck, the poetry of the peasant's spirit and the strong qualities which spring from the very limitations of his surroundings. On the other hand, the gardener with his love for plants in Eichendorff's *Taugenichts* (1826) bears a certain resemblance to several of Tieck's characters.

Like Arnim, Willibald Alexis rivalled Tieck in vivid portrayals of the various social classes in a mediæval city, in *Der Roland von Berlin* (1840); a later work, *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht* (1852), lovingly describes the simple existence of the modern Prussian Bürgertum, while Isegrim (1856) represents the narrow, hum-drum life and strong character of the Brandenburg peasant. *Dies Buch gehört dem König* (1849) by Bettina von Arnim struck a more modern note, in anticipation of the sozialer Roman, revealing the misery of the working population of Berlin. Above all the group of so-called Heidelberg Romanticists owed their interest in mediæval Germany to the patriotic aspect of Tieck and Wackenroder's essays on art.<sup>59</sup> Yet the mediæval setting served them only as a disguise for wandering apprentices and similar characters, by means of which they expressed their love for the lower middle class of their own day and time.<sup>60</sup> Thus, Franz von Gaudy continued the style of Eichendorff's *Taugenichts* in *Aus dem Tagebuch eines wandernden Schneidergesellen*. A larger number of parallels to Tieck appears in the verse of this group than in their prose works. Chamisso gave his readers simple popular types, such as *Die alte Waschfrau*, and journeymen, fishers, foresters or miller's apprentices constitute the principal figures in the *Lieder* of Wilhelm Müller.

Among the writers of the nineteenth century not primarily of the Romantic school, whose works contain descriptions dealing with the lower classes of society, parallels to Tieck are less common. The peasant, in whom Tieck showed so little interest, had become a favorite subject of literary treatment, as is seen in the flood of *Dorfgeschichten* by such writers as Zschokke, Gotthelf and Auerbach. Nevertheless, several authors of the mid-century still displayed interest in other

<sup>59</sup> Dr. Karl Wagner, *Die historischen Motive in Arnims Kronenwächler*, p. 9.

<sup>60</sup> Biese, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. II, pp. 512, 513, 521.

divisions of the lower middle class. Karl Gutzkow, in *Die Ritter vom Geist* (1847) and *Aus der Knabenzeit*, faithfully portrayed the restricted, half poetic, half prosaic life of the Berlin Kleinbürgertum. In *Maria Magdalena*, Hebbel drew a picture of the tyranny of tradition in this class, unlike anything to be found in Tieck's writings. The peasant and the artisan are portrayed respectively in Otto Ludwig's *Heiterethei* (1854) and *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* (1856), the second work containing an especially realistic and detailed account of the slate-roofer's trade. The lower middle class characters in Gottfried Keller's *Leute von Seldwyla* (1856, 1874) show a family resemblance to those both of the *Dorfgeschichten* and of Romanticism. Wilhelm Raabe was perhaps the last noteworthy writer before 1870 to depict (in his *Hungerpastor*, 1864) the ideal element in the life of an artisan.

Possibly the chief reason for the disappearance of such conceptions of the lower middle class as Tieck had once made popular lay in the fact that through the progress of industrialism, the lower middle class itself had lost much of its former character. Descriptions of the proletariat had already appeared in some of the Romantic works above mentioned. Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, in his *Kulturgeschichtliche Novellen* (1856) set the fashion of substituting for characters prominent in history, representatives of the unknown masses, the "misera plebs." Herewith was formulated a program according to which the modern laboring class became the peasant's rival in popular interest. The cause for the change lay not in a deceased interest in the lower middle class, but rather in an increase of literary realism coupled with a change in the realities of the artisan's existence. As the representative of a great social class, Leonhard, der junge Tischlermeister, had been succeeded by members of the proletariat, a product of the system of modern industrialism so bitterly opposed by Tieck.

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